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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 PARIS 21685

GENEVA FOR RMA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE

REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER

CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

DECLASSIFY AFTER: 8 SEP 2015

DATE/CASE ID: 04 NOV 2011 201005065

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NAIROBI FOR DART AND REFCOORD

DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C, MGRW02, PRM/AAA, PM/ISP,
IO/PHO, IO/ESA, IO/UNP/ DRL/AAA

USAID FOR AID/A, AID/BHR, AID/BHR/OFDA,
AID/BHR/FFP, AID/PPC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PHUM, MOPS, PREF, PREL, CG, RW, BY, FR

SUBJECT: MGRW02: A/S MOOSE BRIEFS QUAI ON HIS RWANDA
- TRIP

1. SUMMARY: RETURNING FROM AFRICA, A/S MOOSE BRIEFED
QUAI AFRICA DIRECTOR DE LA SABLIERE AND IO DIRECTOR DE
VERDIERE ON THE CURRENT SITUATION IN RWANDA AND
BURUNDI. MOOSE FOUND THE RPF SERIOUS, HAVING AN IDEA
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OF WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE AND THE DESIRE TO ACCOMPLISH
IT, BUT TOTALLY LACKING THE MEANS TO CARRY OUT SUCH
PLANS. WHILE THE RPF ACKNOWLEDGES THE NEED TO RESTORE
CONFIDENCE AND PREVENT AN EXODUS FROM THE HUMANITARIAN
ZONE, IT DEMANDS JUSTICE BE CARRIED OUT ON THE ISSUE OF
GENOCIDE AND WILL NOT ACCEPT THE ARUSHA ACCORDS AS THE
BASIS FOR ESTABLISHING A NEW ARMY. HUTU INTIMIDATION
OF REFUGEES AND TUTSI REPRISALS AGAINST RETURNEES ALSO
REMAIN STUMBLING BLOCKS.

2. DE LA SABLIERE UNDERScored GOF PREOCCUPATION WITH
THE HZ. HE CHARACTERIZED THE PULLOUT OF FRENCH TROOPS
AS BEING PHASED BY GEOGRAPHIC TRANCHE WITH THEORETICAL
COMPLETION IN 13 DAYS. IN STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF
UNAMIR ARRIVING AND ORGANIZING QUICKLY,

THE FRENCH BELIEVE THE PRESENCE OF OUTSIDE
OBSERVERS FROM THE UN, NGO'S, ICRC, ETC., WILL HELP
ESTABLISH CONFIDENCE.

3. MOOSE SAID HE FOUND BURUNDI MORE PREOCCUPYING THAN
HE HAD FEARED. RWANDAN EVENTS HAVE AGGRAVATED THE
SITUATION, WHICH IS POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE. THINGS

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EITHER ARE BLOCKED BY A HOSTILE HARDLINE MINORITY OR BY
UNIFIED TUTSI OPPOSITION. A QUICK SOLUTION MUST BE
FOUND TO THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION CRISIS.

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4. DE LA SABLIERE AGREED WITH THE ANALYSIS AND ADDED
THAT QUAI SECGEN DUFOURCQ HAD JUST LEFT FOR ZAIRE TO
ENCOURAGE MOBUTU TO REMAIN ENGAGED WITH THE NEW

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GOVERNMENT IN KIGALI AND TO BE CAREFUL REGARDING
BURUNDI. HE EMPHASIZED THAT IF THERE WAS A NEW
CONFLAGRATION IN THE AREA, THERE WOULD BE NO
NEIGHBORING COUNTRY TO WHICH REFUGEES COULD FLEE. END
SUMMARY.

MOOSE OBSERVES RWANDA

5. ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS GEORGE

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SUBJECT: MGRW02: A/S MOOSE BRIEFS QUAI ON HIS RWANDA
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MOOSE TRANSITTED PARIS AUGUST 8 ON HIS RETURN FROM A
TRIP TO CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN AFRICA. HE BRIEFED QUAI
DIRECTOR OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS JEAN-MARC ROCHEREAU DE LA
SABLIERE AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS
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DIRECTOR COLIN DE VERDIERE IN DETAIL ON THE
RWANDA/BURUNDI/ZAIRE SEGMENT AND TOUCHED ON A NUMBER OF
OTHER COUNTRIES. THIS MESSAGE REPORTS THE FORMER.

6. MOOSE OPENED BY SHARING HIS IMPRESSION THAT THE RPF
WAS SERIOUS, HAD AN IDEA OF WHAT IT WANTED TO DO, AND
DEMONSTRATED A DESIRE TO DO IT. UNFORTUNATELY, IT
LACKED THE MEANS TO CARRY OUT ITS PLANS BECAUSE THERE
WAS NO GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION, NO JUDICIARY, NO
SERVICES, ETC. MUCH EFFORT WOULD BE NEEDED TO INSTALL
A FUNCTIONING GOVERNMENT, AND IT WAS NECESSARY TO FIND
PARTIES TO ACCOMPLISH A RECONCILIATION. THE RPF
CONSIDERED MUCH OF THE MNRD AS COMPROMISED AND MANY
MODERATES WERE RELUCTANT, EITHER BECAUSE OF
INTIMIDATION OR BECAUSE THEY FELT THE CURRENT
GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT LAST. ALTHOUGH THE RPF SEES SOME
ELEMENTS OF THE FORMER RWANDAN ARMY (FAR) AS
ACCEPTABLE, IT WILL NOT ACCEPT THE ARUSHA FORMULA
BECAUSE YOUNG RPF MILITARY ARE NOT PREPARED TO
RELINQUISH THE FRUITS OF VICTORY. THE RPF WANTS TO
ESTABLISH A WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL QUICKLY AND SEEKS
INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT. THERE IS AN URGENT NEED TO
DEPLOY MONITORS QUICKLY AND TO HAVE INTERNATIONAL
JURISTS INVOLVED. MOOSE SAID THIS IS THE REASON HE
ASKED A/S SHATTUCK TO VISIT THE AREA.

7. GROUPS OF TUTSI YOUTH AND NEW UNTRAINED AND LESS
DISCIPLINED ARMY RECRUITS (RPF FORCES HAVE GROWN FROM
15,000 TO 30,000) ARE CARRYING OUT REPRISALS, DESPITE
KAGAME'S ATTEMPTS TO MAINTAIN DISCIPLINE. THE 50,000
RETURNED TUTSI REFUGEES FROM THE 1950'S AND 1960'S

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EXODUSES WANT TO RECOVER THEIR FORMER HOMES AND LAND.
THE CABINET MET LAST WEEK, MOOSE REPORTED, AND AGREED
TO THE ARUSHA PRINCIPLE OF ONLY RESTORING LAND RIGHTS
FOR THOSE WHO FLED IN THE LAST TEN YEARS. THE RPF ALSO
SEEKS INTERNATIONAL ACTION TO END TENDENTIOUS
PROPAGANDA IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS. THEY ARE IN
DISCUSSION WITH UNAMIR TO SET UP JOINT PATROLS INSIDE
RWANDA, PARTLY AS A MEANS TO FORESTALL NEW FLIGHT FROM
THE HZ. UNFORTUNATELY, NOT ENOUGH UNAMIR TROOPS ARE

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AVAILABLE. THE RPF UNDERSTANDS THE NEED NOT TO BEGIN A
NEW STAMPEDE, BUT CONTESTS THE FRENCH FORCES EXCLUDING
IT FROM THE HZ. IN THIS REGARD, THEY ARE PREPARED TO
ACCEPT FRENCH AND UNAMIR ESCORTS AND SAY THEY WILL SEND
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ONLY CIVILIAN OFFICIALS INTO THE HZ. PARTICULARLY
BECAUSE THE PM COMES FROM CYANGUGU AND SEVERAL OTHER
CABINET OFFICIALS COME FROM THE HZ, THE RPF FEELS
STRONGLY ABOUT ACCESS. [REDACTED]

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FRENCH REFLECTIONS

8. DE LA SABLIERE AGREED AND MENTIONED THAT HE HAD
SENT THE AMBASSADOR IN KAMPALA TO KIGALI THIS PAST
WEEKEND, BUT STILL HAD NO READOUT. FRANCE'S MAJOR
PREOCCUPATION WAS ITS HZ, FROM WHICH FRENCH FORCES WILL
LEAVE IN 13 DAYS. THERE ALREADY HAS BEEN A PULLOUT
FROM KIKONGORO, AND TROOPS ARE NOW LEAVING KIBUYE. A
STAGED WITHDRAWAL BY ZONE IS INTENDED TO TERMINATE
OPERATION TURQUOISE BY THE END OF FRANCE'S UN MANDATE
ON AUGUST 21, IF POSSIBLE. IT THEREFORE IS ESSENTIAL
FOR THE UN TO GET TO THE HZ AND ORGANIZE. [REDACTED]

B1

[REDACTED]
IT WAS NECESSARY FOR THE RPF TO DO MORE THAN
UTTER REASSURING WORDS. ACTIONS WERE NEEDED TO PREVENT
A SITUATION IN THE SOUTH EVEN WORSE THAN THAT AROUND
GOMA. WESTERN COUNTRIES NEED TO KEEP THE PRESSURE ON
THE RPF.

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9. MOOSE COUNTERED THAT MORE THAN PRESSURE WAS
REQUIRED. THE U.S. HAD JUST REOPENED ITS EMBASSY, AND
[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] WE NEED TO GET UNAMIR IN
PLACE QUICKLY, DESPITE CURRENT BUREAUCRATIC OBSTACLES.
TO THIS END, MOOSE SAID HE HAD ASKED CHIEF OF STAFF
SHALIKASHVILI TO PERSONALLY REVIEW THE SITUATION ON THE
GROUND. DE LA SABLIERE THEN SKETCHED OUT SOME OF THE

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SCHEDULED UNAMIR ARRIVALS (GHANAIANS, ETHIOPIANS) AND
CITED THE NEED FOR FOREIGN OBSERVERS (UN, ICRC, UNHRC,
UNHCR, NGO'S). HE STATED THAT QUAI SEC GEN DUFOURCQ
LEFT AUGUST 8 FOR ZAIRE TO "COMFORT" MOBUTU AND
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ENCOURAGE HIM TO ACT RESPONSIBLY. MOBUTU WANTS THE
REFUGEES TO RETURN AND HAS BEEN COOPERATIVE.

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/ AND THE NEED FOR ZAIRE TO BE CAREFUL
TO AVOID AN EXPLOSION IN BURUNDI OR KIVU THAT WOULD
HAVE DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES BECAUSE THERE WOULD NO
LONGER BE A NEUTRAL HAVEN IN THE AREA TO WHICH REFUGEES
COULD FLEE.

ZAIRE

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10. MOOSE AND DE LA SABLIERE ALSO AGREED THERE WAS A NEED TO SUPPORT KENGO IN DEALINGS WITH ZAIRE. MOOSE MENTIONED THE PROBLEM OF ZAIRIAN ARMED FORCES (FAZ), WHERE THE WORD AND DEED WERE NOT ALWAYS MET. THE FAZ HAD TO STOP ITS PILLAGING AND DISARM RWANDAN TROOPS. THE UNHCR BELIEVED PERHAPS 80 PERCENT OF THE FAR WERE DISARMED, BUT DID NOT KNOW WHERE THE WEAPONS WERE. MOOSE REPORTED PRESIDENT MWINYI WAS PREPARED TO GET THE BURUNDI PARTIES TOGETHER, BUT HAD A PROBLEM WITH MOBUTU. DE LA SABLIERE OPINED MOBUTU WOULD NOT CHANGE, BUT REALIZED HE WAS DEALING FROM A POSITION OF WEAKNESS BECAUSE OF THE INTOLERABLE BURDEN AND THE POSSIBILITY OF DESTABILIZING EASTERN ZAIRE. DE LA SABLIERE ADDED THAT FRANCE WOULD RESTART ITS "SOCIAL AND HUMANITARIAN" AID PROGRAMS NOW, AND LATER WOULD "GO BEYOND THIS." IT ALSO PLANNED TO BEGIN ISSUING VISAS AGAIN, BUT THE CENTRAL CONTROL MECHANISM WOULD REMAIN TO PERMIT A FUTURE CUTOFF -- IF NEEDED.

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BURUNDI

11. MOOSE SAW MANY PARALLELS BETWEEN BURUNDI, WHERE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES HAD FLED AND WHERE THERE WAS MUCH HOSTILE PROPAGANDA, AND RWANDA. EITHER MOST OF THE POPULATION WANTED A SOLUTION AND WERE TEMPORARILY BLOCKED BY A HARDLINE MINORITY OR THE TUTSIS WERE POLARIZED BY RWANDA AND ALL OPPOSED

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WEAKENING THEIR HOLD ON THE POWER STRUCTURE. WE HAD TO
SUPPORT THE FIRST THEORY AND HELP MODERATES ORGANIZE TO
RESOLVE THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION AND ESTABLISH A
CLIMATE OF SECURITY. TO THIS END THERE WAS A NEED TO
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INCREASE THE INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE, BUT SUCH AN
UNDERTAKING WOULD BE DIFFICULT BECAUSE ONE PARTY OR
ANOTHER SURELY WOULD OBJECT TO ANY FORCE AS PARTISAN.
THE U.S. WILL TRY TO USE BUJUMBURA AIRPORT AS A RWANDA
SUPPLY POINT AT LEAST PARTIALLY TO PROVIDE SUCH A
PRESENCE.

12. COMMENT: OUR FRENCH INTERLOCUTORS WERE
APPRECIATIVE OF THE MOOSE BRIEFING.



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13. A/S MOOSE DEPARTED PARIS BEFORE THIS TELEGRAM WAS
DRAFTED.

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